

the Disgrace. Christ commands us nothing but he enforceth it with an Argument from his Person as well as from his Word ; and it's well if we can make good use of them : For God knows how soon he may call us from our easie speculations and theories of Sufferings, to the practical experience of it ; how soon he may draw us forth for the persecution of the fiery tryal ; only this we may be sure of, that if these things be brought upon us for his Honour, 'twill be for our own ; and be our Distresses never so great, our Calamities never so strong and unusual, yet we have both our Saviour's Example, to direct us, and his Promise, to support us ; who hath left it upon Record, *That if we Suffer with him, we shall also Reign with him.*

F I N I S.

A Word without Doors Concerning the BILL for S U C C E S S I O N.

S I R,

I AM very sensible of the great Honour you were pleased to do me in your last, which I received immediately after our late unhappy Dissolution; but could have wished you would have laid your Commands on some more able Person, to have given you Satisfaction in the matter you there propose relating to the Duke; who, you seem to insinuate, was like (if the Parliament had continued) to have received hard measure. I must Ingenuously confess to you, I was not long since perfectly of your Opinion, and thought it the highest Injustice imaginable, for any Prince to be debar'd of his Native Right of Succession upon any pretence whatsoever. But upon a more mature deliberation and enquiry, I found my Error proceeded principally from the false Notions I had took up of Government it self, and from my Ignorance of the practices of all Communities of Men in all Ages, whenever self-preservation and necessity of their Affairs Obligated them to Declare their Opinion in Cases of the like Nature: To the knowledge of all which, the following Accident I shall Relate to you, did very much contribute.

My Occasions obliging me one day to attend the coming of a Friend in a Coffee-house near *Charing-Cross*, there happened to sit at the same Table with me two Ingenious Gentlemen, who according to the frankness of Conversation now used in the Town, began a Discourse on the same Subject you desire to be more particularly informed in; and having Extolled the late House of Commons as the best number of Men that had ever sat within those Walls; and that no House had ever more vigorously maintained and asserted *English* Liberty and Protestant Religion, than they had done, as far as the Nature of the things that came before them, and the Circumstances of time would admit (to all which I very readily and heartily assented;) they then added, That the great Wisdom and Zeal of that House had appeared in nothing more, than in Ordering a Bill to be brought in for debarring the Duke of *Y.* from Inheriting the Crown. A Law they affirmed to be the most just and reasonable in the World, and the only proper Remedy to Establish this Nation on a true and solid Interest, both in Relation to the present and future times.

To which I could not but Reply, That I begged their Pardon if I differed from them in Opinion; and did believe, that how honestly soever the House of Commons might intend in that matter, yet that the point of Succession was so Sacred a thing, and of so high a Nature, that it was not Subjected to their Cognizance: That Monarchy was of Divine Right: That Princes Succeeded by Nature and Generation only, and not by Authority, Admission, or Approbation of the People; and consequently, that neither the Merit or Demerit of their Persons, nor the different influences from thence upon the People, were to be respected or had in consideration; but the Common-wealth ought to Obey and submit to the next Heir, without any further Inquisition; and if he proved a Worthy, Vertuous, and Just Prince, it was a great Happiness; if Unjust, Barbarous, and Tyrannical, there was no other Remedy, but Prayer, Patience, and an intire Submission to so difficult a Dispensation of Gods Providence.

I had no sooner ended my Discourse, but one of the Gentlemen (that was the most serious in the Company) seeing me a Young Man, gravely Replyed; That he could not but be extremely concerned to hear that such pernicious Notions against all Lawful Government, had been Taught in the World: That he believed they were in me purely the effects of an University-Education; and that it had been my misfortune to have had a very high Church-man for my Tutor, who had endeavoured (as it was their constant practise to all Young Gentlemen under their Care) to Debauch me with such Principles as would enslave my Mind to their Hierarchy, and the Monarchical part of the Government, without any Regard at all to the Aristocratical and Popular; and that fat Parsonages, Prebendships, Deanaries, and Episcopal Sees, were the certain and constant Rewards of such Services: That the place we were in, was a little too Publick for Discourses of this Nature; but if I would accept of a Bottle of Wine at the next Tavern, he would undertake to give me juster measures; adding, it was pity so hopeful a Gentleman should be tainted with bad Principles. My Friend coming in at the same time, proved to be one of their particular Acquaintance; and both he and I readily complied with so Generous a motion.

We had no sooner drank a Glass round, but the Old Gentleman was pleased to renew his Discourse, and said, It was undoubtedly true, that the inclination of Mankind to Live in Company (from whence come Towns, Cities, and Common-wealths) did proceed of Nature, and consequently of God the Author of Nature. So likewise Government, and the Jurisdiction of Magistrates in general (which does necessarily flow from the living together in Society) is also of Nature, and Ordained by God for the common good of Mankind; but that the particular species and forms of this or that Government, in this or that manner; To have many, few, or one Governour; or that they should have this or that Authority, more or less, for a longer or a shorter time; or whether ordinarily by Succession or by Election: All these things (he said) are Ordained and Diversified by the particular positive Laws of every Countrey, and are not Establish'd either by Law Natural or Divine, but left by God unto every Nation and Countrey, to pitch upon what Form of Government they shall think most proper to promote the common good of the whole, and best adapted to the Natures, Constitutions, and other Circumstances of the People; which accordingly for the same Reasons may be altered or amended in any of its parts, by the mutual Consent of the Governours and Governed, whenever they shall see Reasonable cause so to do; all which appears plainly, both from the diversity of Governments extant in the World, and by the same Nations living sometimes under one sort of Government, and sometimes under another. So we see God himself permitted his peculiar People the *Jews* to live under divers Forms of Government; as first, under Patriarchs, then under Captains, then under Judges, then under High-Priests, next under

Kings, and then under Captains and High-Priests again, until they were conquered by the *Romans*, who themselves also first lived under Kings, and then Consuls; whose authority they afterwards limited by a Senate, by adding Tribunes of the People; and in extraordinary emergencies of the Commonwealth they were governed by Dictators, and last of all by Emperors. So that it's plain no Magistrate has his particular Government, or an Interest of succession in it, by any Institution of Nature, but only by the particular Constitution of the Commonwealth within it self. And as the kinds of Government are different, so also are the measures of Power and Authority in the same kind, in different Countreys.

I shall begin, (said he) with that of the *Roman Empire*, which though it be the first in dignity among Christian Princes, yet it is so restrained and limited by the particular Laws of the Empire, that he can do much less in his State, than other Kings in theirs. He can neither make War, nor exact any Contribution of Men or Money, but by the consent of all the States of the *German Diet*: And as for his Children and Relations, they have no Interest or pretence to succeed, but only by Election, if they shall be thought Worthy. Nay, the chiefest Article the Emperour swears to keep at his admission to that Honour, is, That he shall never endeavour to make thy Dignity of the Empire Hereditary to his Family.

In *Spain* and in *France*, the Priviledges of Kings are much more eminent, both in Power and Succession; their Authority is more absolute, every Order of theirs having the validity of a Law, and their next of blood does ordinarily inherit, though in a different manner. In *Spain* the next Heir cannot succeed but by the approbation of the Nobility, Bishops, and States of the Realm. In *France* the Women are not admitted to succeed, let them be never so lineally descended. In *England* our Kings are much more limited and confined in their Power, than either of the two former; for here no Law can be made but by consent and Authority of Parliament; and as to the point of Succession, the next of kin is admitted, unless in extraordinary cases, and when important Reason of State require an alteration: And then the Parliaments of *England* (according to the Ancient Laws and Statutes of the Realm) have frequently directed and appointed the succession of the Crown in other manner than in course it would have gone; of which I shall give you some Examples in order.

But first let us look abroad, and see how things have been carried as to this point in other Countreys.

Amongst the *Jews* the Law of Succession did ordinarily hold; and accordingly *Rehoboam* the Lawful Son and Heir of *Solomon*, after his Fathers decease, went to *Sichem* to be crowned and admitted by the People; and the whole body of the People of *Israel* being there gathered together, did (before they would admit him their lawful King) make unto him certain propositions for taking away some heavy Taxes that had been imposed on them by his Father *Solomon*, which he refusing to gratifie them in, and following the advice of young men, Ten of the Twelve Tribes immediately chioose *Jeroboam*, a Servant of *Rhehoboam's*, a meer stranger, and of mean Parentage, and made him their King; and God approved thereof, as the Scriptures in exprefs words do testifie: for when *Rhehoboam* had raised an Army of One hundred and fourscore thousand men, intending by force of Arms to have justified his Claim, God appeared unto *Semajah*, and commanded him to go to *Rhehoboam*, and to the House of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, saying, *Return every man to his House, for this thing is of me, saith the Lord*. So that since God did permit and allow this in his own Commonwealth, which was to be the pattern for all others, no doubt he will approve the same in other Kingdoms, whenever his service and glory, or the happiness of the Weal-publick shall require it.

The next Instance, I shall give you, shall be in *Spain*, where *Don Alonso de la Cerda* having been admitted Prince of *Spain* in his Father's life-time (according to the Custom of that Realm) married *Blancha* Daughter of *Lewis* the first King of *France*, and had by her two sons Named *Alonso* and *Hernando de la Cerda*; but their Father (who was only Prince) dying before *Alonso* the ninth then King, he recommended them to the Realm as lawful Heirs apparent to the Crown: But *Don Sancho* their Fathers younger Brother, who was a great Warrior, and firnamed *El Bravo*, was admitted Prince, and they put by, in their Grandfathers life-time, by his and the States consent; and this was done at a Parliament held at *Sogovia*, in the year 1276: And in the year, 1284, (*Alonso* the 9th. being dead) *Don Sancho* was acknowledged King, and the two Princes imprisoned; but at the Mediation of *Philip* the third, King of *France*, their Uncle, they were set free, and endowed with considerable Revenues in Land, and from them do descend the Dukes of *Medina Celi* at this day; and the present King of *Spain* that is in possession, descendeth from *Don Sancho*.

In *France*, *Lewis* the 4th. had two Sons, *Lothairin*, who succeeded him, and *Charles* whom he made Duke of *Lorraine*. *Lothairin* dying, left an only Son named *Lewis*, who dying without Issue after he had reigned two years, the Crown was to have descended on his Uncle *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*. But the States of *France* did exclude him, and chose *Hugo Capetus*, Earl of *Paris*, for their King; and in an Oration made by their Embassadour to *Charles* of *Lorraine*, did give an account of their Reasons for so doing, as it is related by *Belforest*, a French Historian, in these very words:

Every man knoweth (Lord *Charles*) that the Succession of the Crown and Kingdom of *France*, according to the ordinary Rights and Laws of the same, belongeth unto you, and not unto *Hugh Capet* now our King: But yet the same Laws which do give unto you such Right of Succession, do judge you also unworthy of the same, for that you have not endeavoured hitherto to frame your life according to the prescript of those Laws, nor according to the use and Custom of the Kingdom of *France*, but rather have alied your self with the *Germanians* our old Enemies, and have accustomed your self to their vile and base manners. Wherefore since you have abandoned and forsaken the Ancient Virtue, Amity, and sweetness of your Countrey, your Countrey has also abandoned and forsaken you; for we have chosen *Hugh Capet* for our King, and have put you by, and this without any scruple in our Consciences at all; esteeming it far better and more just to live under *Hugh Capet*, the possessor of the Crown, with enjoying the ancient use of our Laws, Customs, Priviledges, and Liberties; than under you the next Heir by blood, in Oppressions, strange Customs, and Cruelty. For as they who are to make a Voyage in a Ship on a dangerous Sea, do not so much respect whether the Pilot claims Title to the Ship or no, but rather whether he be skilful, valiant, and like to bring them in safety to their ways end; even so our principal care is to have a good Prince to lead and guide us happily in this way of Civil and Politick life, which is the End for which Princes are appointed. And with this Message ended his Succession and Life, he dying not long after in Prison.

And now I shall come home, and give you an Instance or two in *England*, since the Conquest, and so conclude.

William Rufus, second Son of *William the Conqueror*, by the assistance of *Laufank*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had a great opinion of his Virtue and Probity, was admitted King by the consent of the Realm, his elder Brother *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* being then in the War at *Jerusalem*. *William* dying, his younger Brother *Henry* by his ingenuity and fair carriage, and by the assistance of *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, who had greatest interest in the Nobility; and *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, a leading-man amongst the Clergy, obtained also the Crown. And *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* was a second time excluded. And though this King *Henry* could pretend no other Title to the Crown than the Election and admission of the Realm, yet he defended it so well; and God prospered him with such success, that when his elder Brother *Robert* came to claim the Kingdom by force of Arms, he beat him in a Pitch-Battle, took him Prisoner, and so he dyed miserably in Bonds.

King *Henry* had one only Daughter, named *Maud*, or *Matilda*, who was married to the Emperor, and he dying without issue, she was afterwards married to *Geofry Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou* in *France*, by whom she had a Son named *Henry*, whom his Grandfather declared Heir-apparent to the Crown in his life-time; yet after his death, *Henry* was excluded, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bulloine*, Son of *Adela*, Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, was by the States thought more fit to govern than Prince *Henry*, who was then but a Child. And this was done by the perswasion of *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and at the solicitation of the Abbot of *Glastenbury* and others, who thought they might do the same Lawfully, and with a good Conscience, for the Publick good of the Realm.

But the Event did not prove so well as they intended: for this occasioned great Factions and Divisions in the Kingdom; for the quieting of which, there was a Parliament held at *Wallingford*, which passed a Law, That *Stephen* should be King only during his Life, and that Prince *Henry* and his Offspring should succeed him; and by the same Law debarred *William* Son of King *Stephen* from inheriting the Crown, and only made him Earl of *Norfolk*.

Thus did the Parliament dispose of the Crown in those days, which was in the year 1153; which sufficiently proves what I have asserted.

The sum of all I have said, amounts to this: That Government in general is by the Law of Nature, and consequently the Ordinance of God; but that the different forms of Government, whether to Reside in One, Few, or Many; or whether it shall be continued by Succession or by Election, together with the different measures and limitations of Power and Authority in Governours of the same kind in several Countreys; All these things, I say, are ordained by, and purely depend upon Positive and Humane Laws. From whence it will necessarily follow, That the same Human Authority (residing in King, Lords and Commons, here in *England*) which gave being to those Laws for the good of the Community, is Superintendent over them, and both may and ought to make any Addition to, or Alteration of them, when the publick Good and Welfare of the Nation shall require it; unless you will admit, That an Human Authority, establishing any thing intentionally for the common good of the Society, which in tract of time, by reason of unforeseen Circumstances and Emergencies, proves destructive of it, has by that Act concluded it self, and made that accidental Evil, Moral and Unchangeable, which to affirm is Senseless and Repugnant.

And now, Sir, I hope by this time (said the Old Gentleman) you begin to think that the Bill for disabling the Duke, was not so unjust and unreasonable as was pretended; and that the course of Succession (being founded upon the same bottom with other Civil Constitutions) might likewise as justly have been altered by the King, Lords, and Commons, as any other Law or Custom whatever.

And here I might conclude: But because a late *Penitentiary Pen* has publicly Arraigned the Wisdom, Loyalty, and Justice of the Honourable House of Commons, on the Account of this Bill, I will ex abundanti add a word or two more to that particular.

When upon he pluckt a Paper out of his Pocket, Entituled, *Great and weighty Considerations relating to the Duke and Successor of the Crown*, &c. Which as soon as he had read into us, You see here (said he) the true temper of those men, of whom I first gave you Caution. There never was in our Country (though in a Legal and Parliamentary way) after any Reformation either in Church or State, but the Promoters of it were sure to be branded by them with the Odious imputations of *Fanaticism* and *Faction*: Nay if the Countrey Electors of Parliament-men, will not pitch upon such Rake-hells of the Nation as are usually proposed by them, but on the contrary, make use of their Freedom and Consciences in chusing Able, Upright, and Deserving Persons; and if good men thus chosen, do but (according to their Duty in the House) enquire into publick Grievances, pursue in a Legal course Notorious Offenders, and Consult and Advise the security of the Government and Protestant Religion, the high Church-man immediately swells, and in a passion tells you, That all this proceeds from the Old *Phanatick Leven*, not yet worn out amongst the People: That we are going back again to Forty One; and acting over afresh the sins of our Forefathers.

Thus ignorantly do they Complement the Times and Persons they endeavour to Expose, by Appropriating to them such Virtues as were common to good men in all Ages: But enough of this.

In the next place pray observe how Hypocritically the *Considerer* puts this Question, viz.

Whether Protestant Religion was not settled in this Nation by the same mighty hand of God, that establisheth Jeroboam in the Kingdom of Israel? [And then adds] *Whether we (like that wicked King) should so far despair of Gods Providence in preserving the work of his own Hands, as never to think it Safe unless it be Establish'd on the Quick-sands of our own wicked Inventions?* [viz. the Bill against the Duke.]

And throughout his whole Discourse, he frequently calls all Care of preserving our Religion, a mistrust of God's Providence; and on that score calls out to the Nation, *O ye of little Faith, &c.* Now I will allow him, That the least evil is not to be done, that the greatest and most important Good may ensue: But that the Bill for Disabling the Duke, is highly Justifiable both by the Laws of God, and Constitution of our Government, I think by my former Discourse I have left no room to Doubt; and the *Considerer* having scarce attempted to prove